

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 735

July 28, 1950

THREEPENCE

## RECOGNISE PEKING GOVERNMENT NOW!

### ALL-PARTY MEETING'S UNANIMOUS DEMAND

"We must not walk in fear of American self-righteousness and power politics," said Zilliacus at Kingsway Hall last Monday. He was one of the speakers at a meeting representing all political parties and the Church, called by the National Peace Council. All were unanimous in demanding the immediate recognition of the Peking Government.

REV. HENRY CARTER said this was an all-party, or rather above-party meeting and each speaker would give his own individual convictions.

His own could be given under three heads: First, Use United Nations for all matters concerned with the making of peace, which was its primary purpose; localise the fighting; encourage the Powers in Asia to restore peace in Asia; invite the Peking Government to the Security Council without delay.

Secondly, Support Pandit Nehru, that he may feel the strength of peace-loving people behind him.

Thirdly, ban the use of the atom bomb.

#### Recognise real governments

Woodrow Wyatt, Labour MP for Aston, said Communist China had by this time earned the right to a seat on the Security Council.

UNO must recognise the governments which were in control of foreign provinces, irrespective of whether it likes them or not.

He doubted whether Russia really wanted Communist China to be on the Security Council, for she had done little to obtain that end.

But a seat on the Council should not be made part of a bargain for ending the war. The aggressors should first go back behind the 38th Parallel before the situation regarding China should be considered. Only then should Britain urge its inclusion.

The fact that the South Korean Government was a corrupt one in no way affected the issue. International law must be enforced.

#### Remove Russia's excuse

Norman Bower, Conservative MP for West Harrow, said the Government was absolutely right in the action it had taken. There was no doubt that the attack on South Korea had been planned.

He advocated that the Peking Government should be represented on the Security Council straight away.

Russia said the action of UN was illegal because that government was not represented; she had an excuse, and a good one, for absenting herself from UN. Further, there was a danger that China, which had always been independent, would become a satellite of Russia.

Therefore every effort should be made to bring Russia into UN, for if her excuse were removed Russia, who still valued world opinion, might feel obliged to come in. If, however, Russia wanted to wreck UN, then it was better that her real intentions stood revealed.

For even if Russia came into UN and used the veto to impede proceedings, we should be in no worse position than at present. For no one could pretend that United Nations as at present constituted was the United Nations as understood at San Francisco. It was a league of one group of nations against another.

The ludicrous clique

Aubrey Herbert, Honorary Secretary, Liberal Central Association, said he underlined all that had been said for the inclusion of Communist China into the Security Council.

It was ludicrous that a clique, controlling only an island in the Pacific, should be represented in place of the Peking Government.

He had never been convinced that Russia wanted war (Applause). Russia might bring pressure on the Democracies for some time to come, but that was surely to be preferred to a third world war.

During that period we must for our part preserve a correct attitude, and see that in no way were we ourselves a cause of provocation. But we did not preserve a correct attitude if we excluded the true Chinese representative.

It had been said that it would be dangerous for Soviet Russia and Communist China to be on the Security Council, as they might obstruct activity by the veto. That should not prevent us from striving for their inclusion.

We must preserve a bridge between the

nations if we were not to be thrust into a third world war. That bridge was the United Nations, which, like the League of Nations, would collapse unless we tried to make it work as it stood.

#### The choice before Christians

Canon Collins, of St. Paul's, said that Christians were now facing a clear choice: they might become out-and-out pacifists, or they might side with those who were determined to oppose Soviet aggression.

He felt a growing sympathy with the pacifist attitude, and often wondered whether any other view was compatible with Christianity.

But they were called to that meeting not to argue for pacifism but to try and end the fighting, and it would be disastrous if they decided to do anything which might weaken the opposition to Soviet aggression. We must not hinder the resistance by standing on a legal quibble.

Once all nations realised that UN would resist all aggression we should have peace. It would be treachery to refuse to assist in the defence of Formosa if the Communists tried to take it by force.

The South Korean Government might be corrupt, but that was not the issue. The issue was resistance to Soviet aggression.

Canon Collins said he was completely against the use of the atom bomb in any circumstances, but if atom bombs were dropped he would have to put the primary responsibility on Russia (Disturbance, and a voice: "What a wicked thing to say!").

Not by appeasement should we outlaw the horrors of modern warfare.

#### British subservience to USA

Mr. Zilliacus said the Korean conflict meant one of two things: either the beginning of the third world war, or the beginning of the end of the cold war by negotiations between the great powers.

British policy could decide the choice, public opinion could decide British policy.

He agreed with other speakers that the key to peace was the admission of China to the Security Council.

But he disagreed strongly with the prevailing view of the facts of the situation and with British subservience to American policy, which he viewed with growing alarm. The USA was using the situation for its own fight against Communism.

As for the facts, they were difficult to come by, as the Security Council had given North Korea no opportunity to put its case.

(Here Mr. Zilliacus repeated some of the facts related in his letter on page 6.)

#### The American halo

President Truman's statement that "international Communism" was now out to overrun the world and subjugate free countries was inflammatory nonsense.

This was a civil war in Korea, complicated by a clash between Russian and American power politics.

How could USA pretend to wear the moral halo of the United Nations? How could she justify her action in Formosa, which was not a United Nations decision, and was not approved by our own Government?

The people responsible for that policy should stop talking about the rule of law between nations. He had been too long concerned with international politics to be impressed by these protestations of morality.

#### "The sheer humbug . . ."

To show the sheer humbug of the Anglo-American policy they need only to recall what happened when the Dutch attacked Indonesia in violation of a UN armistice accepted by both sides and with a UN Commission of Enquiry on the spot.

The Council, with all members voting, duly condemned Holland as an aggressor. But USA did not declare war on Holland. The British delegate told the Council it would be "unrealistic" to ask the Dutch to give up territory they had seized by force.

(Continued on back page)

Dr. Soper repeats—

## Communism is better than war

"I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO SAY IT FOR YEARS"

DR. DONALD SOPER, the well-known pacifist superintendent of the West London Mission, who aroused nation-wide comment last week by remarking, at the Methodist Conference at Bradford, that he would rather see the world over-run by Communists than plunged into a third world war, publicly repeated this last Monday night to a crowded rally of the Methodist Peace Fellowship.

"Some people said I was guilty of an hysterical outburst on the spur of the moment," he said. "But I have been trying to say it for many years. It took a lot of courage and I was shaking at the knees when I said it."

He wanted ordinary people to face the terrible fact of war, and the even more terrible prospect of cosmic obliteration.

And he invited them to consider whether it would not be better, if the test came, that we should be overcome, temporarily, at least, by Communist forces, in order that we could at least have a chance of trusting to another way of dealing with these problems.

#### Appeal to ordinary people

He had always believed, he said, that a pacifism that did not derive from the love of God, and faith in Christ, would ultimately go on the rocks.

But he was persuaded that they could appeal to the ordinary people, who had no such faith or confidence, and ask them to look the facts of the present world in the face, and realise that we are heading for inevitable disaster unless they could alter the fundamental attitude of the world.

The most important thing people had to learn today was that they could not change social, economic or political conditions by the use of violence.

If the world was not a thing of utter indecency—of "sound and fury signifying nothing"—there was another way than the use of violence.

Dr. Soper said he was certainly not a Communist. He believed, however, that Christianity was the grandmother of Communism, and that if Christians had done their job there would be no Communists, as the word was now understood, in the world.

He believed in the "one world," and added that if it was within the competence of armies to coagulate and join together, then it was within the competence of man to organise his affairs in peace on a basis of that "one world."

#### Church and the atom bomb

A number of questions was asked after Dr. Soper's speech. One was whether a pacifist could remain a member of a church which supported the use of the atom bomb.

Dr. Soper said the Church's attitude was

that while it would not initiate the use of

the bomb, it would agree to its use in retaliatory circumstances.

While he did not agree with that, he "would rather stay in the Church than hang outside and throw bricks at the window."

He believed the Church leaders were out of touch with Christianity. Since last Monday, he said (the day of his original speech) he had had 450 letters, only 7 of them disagreeing with what he said.

#### What would he do if . . .

He was also asked—"Would you go to the extent of having your own family turned out, and your children put to violence, and still remain pacifist?"

Dr. Soper replied that he did not believe any man could give a guarantee of what he would do; but he believed that if his faith was sufficiently strong he could commit his own people to others.

"I would rather commit my children to whatever can happen," he said, "by my own loyalty to Christ, than seek to protect them by the blasphemous assumption that I knew better than God, and can do better than God, in any set of circumstances."

Observing that he did not believe that the Russians would "come over and butcher everyone," he said, "it is one thing to enter a town where there is resistance and sniping, and another thing to emerge into Kingsway, for example, with the West London Mission arranging tea for them."

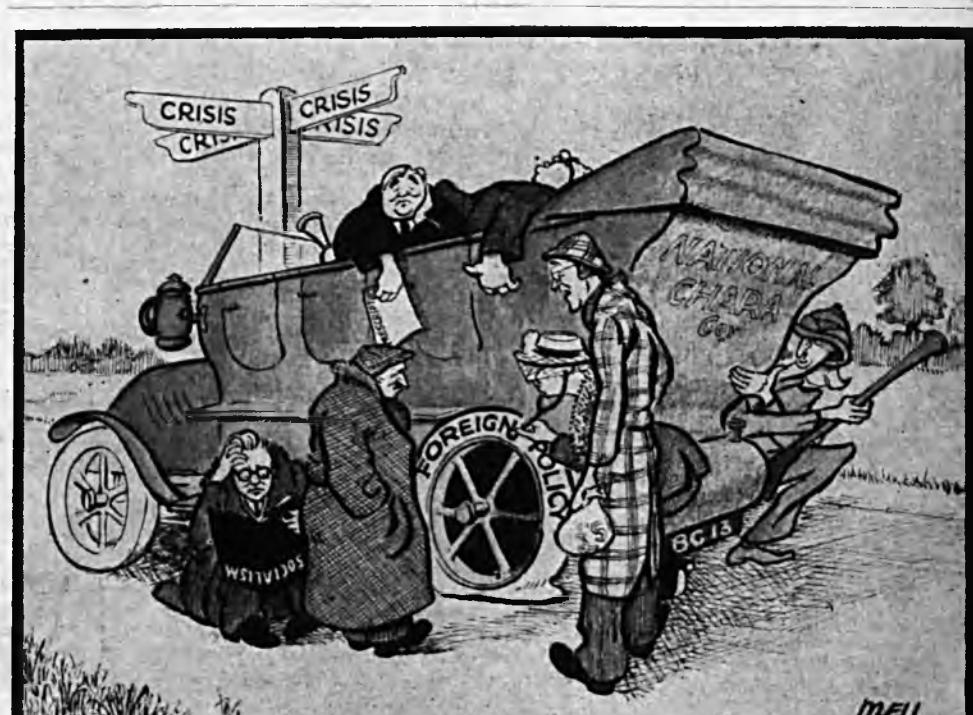
#### NOT SHOCKED—DISTURBED

Before addressing the Methodist Peace Fellowship Rally at Bradford Central Hall on Monday, Dr. Donald Soper gave answers to questions asked on behalf of Peace News, relating to the remarks at the Methodist Conference referred to above.

Asked if he had been correctly reported, Dr. Soper said, "More or less fairly reported, but because incompletely, not entirely correct. I was asking for pacifists and non-pacifists to face the immediate future realistically, and was making my own witness to the fact that as a pacifist I would rather see the temporary overrunning of the world by Communism than take part in the evil of world war."

Asked "What were the reactions of the Conference?; is it true that they were 'shocked into silence,' as stated in the Daily Herald?" Dr. Soper said, "I was

(Continued on back page)



"The nation is solidly behind the Government."—vide press.

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## BUT WHAT OF THE PEOPLE?

**A**MID all the talk about the fine intentions of this latest war for democracy, we hear little of what the Korean people themselves think, who are being slaughtered with such lofty motives.

For that reason, we devote this column this week to a letter which appeared in *The Times* last Friday from two distinguished Cambridge scientists, Joseph and Dorothy Needham.\*

And in doing so, let us express our gratitude to *The Times* for giving it prominence.



"We were particularly distressed to read, in *The Times* of July 15, the news of the American 500-ton bombing raid on industrial targets in North Korea.

"Having ourselves a number of years' experience in the field of science and technology in Asia, we believe that the majority of readers in occidental countries will have no conception of what this means for the mass of the people in China, Indo-China, Korea, and other Asian countries.

"According to our experience, every peasant farmer and townsman in China understands the necessity for industrialisation as the only way to relieve that grinding poverty of the Asian masses which must be seen to be understood. Hence the great admiration for the engineers in free China during the last war and the pride in the roads, factories, and railways which they built.

"The Koreans, like the Chinese, had in any case only the merest fraction of the industrial output on which the occidental standard of life is based, and now it looks, from the standard of the Asian masses, as if the little that they had shall be taken away from them.

"This interpretation of the Christian gospel will not commend itself to the Chinese and other Asian peoples.



"We were in Chungking when the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. We supposed that this act, which, as was then thought, would probably save the Chinese one or two further years of war and untold thousands of lives, would have been acceptable to them. But the general reaction was quite the contrary; the feeling was that such a mass murder would never have been inflicted upon a European population, and it had been done to the Japanese only because as a people of Mongoloid race they were considered as something sub-human.

"Somewhat later, after the occupation of Japan, the commander of the occupying forces ordered, by what authority it has never been possible to ascertain, the thorough destruction of each of the cyclotrons which the Japanese physicists had built (we believe there were three).

"The dismay occasioned in the public mind in China by this act was extraordinary.

"It had been confidently anticipated that these cyclotrons would become available for work by physicists at Chinese universities. Now it was clear that even their former allies were not considered worthy by the Americans to be allowed to investigate the secrets of nuclear physics and the structure of the atom.



"We are not here concerned with the legal rights and wrongs of the proceedings now going on in Korea.

"What we are anxious to point out is that the Americans and their supporters have got themselves into a position in which they must seem, to the eyes of the masses of Asian peoples, implacably opposed to the relief of their poverty and the advance of their science and technology.

"No concrete result seems likely to appear from the UN technical assistance programme sufficient to modify this impression. We fear that the whole present policy of the occidental Powers in East Asia is sowing a harvest of hatred which will ripen in years to come."

\* Fellows of the Royal Society and distinguished bio-chemists, Mr. and Mrs. Needham have played a prominent part in the development of Chinese universities.

## Commentary

By DOUGLAS ROGERS

## A terrible decision

THIS is a terrible decision because it may well take a year or more to achieve such an aim. During that year of fighting thousands of lives will be sacrificed, hundreds of thousands will be made homeless and, with the destruction of agriculture, famine and disease will follow the armies.

But, even worse, during this period of fighting, all attempts to secure a general settlement beyond Korea are to be suspended. Propaganda will flow to and fro with increasing disregard of its long-term effects, hatreds will harden and the already critical world situation may worsen beyond repair. And there is a danger greater than Korea. It is the decision of America to defend Formosa against any attack from the mainland. Such a decision is itself an act of military intervention against Communist China. It might cause the spark to start a world-wide conflict.

## Wanted: a positive aim

BUT even if none of this happens, supposing the North Koreans are driven back. What then? Are the United Nations forces going to stop at the 38th Parallel? Are they going to maintain there a perpetual armed vigilance? Or do they propose to occupy the whole of Korea? If so, for how long? And what are they going to do when they do occupy it?

All these questions are surely relevant. Unless the United Nations say what sort of a solution—political and economic—they want in Korea, their military resistance becomes fatuous—from any point of view.

And if, as we are entitled to presume, they have some notion of what they want, beyond the negative aim of resisting aggression, why not say so now? Why not state terms? Why not discuss terms even while they resist? Why not see if agreement can be found? Why not, in fact, accept Nehru's suggestion of discussing the matter? At least, try!

## Wishful thinking in the West

I HAVE already expressed my view in this Commentary that the likelihood is that the masses of the common people in the Far East and in the imperialist-dominated regions feel more sympathy with the Communists than they do with the Western Powers. A remarkably frank despatch in *The Observer* (July 16) from a correspondent in Hong Kong bears out this point of view and, moreover, suggests that the feeling extends beyond the peasants and workers who would gain materially from Communist success.

This writer, Frank Robertson, had completed a tour of Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and Siam, and he concluded that on the ideological front Communism is making a general advance. He says: "A phrase often heard since the Korea war started, 'We had to stop them somewhere,' makes little sense to anyone acquainted with the state of affairs in South-East Asia today." Even anti-Communist Asiatics do not "conceal a certain unreasoning satisfaction that this (Communist victory) will mean the

end of the white man's rule over the Asiatic peoples."

"Any notion," he ends his report, "that the events in Korea would electrify the Asiatics into resisting Communism in their own backyards is, to put it bluntly, wishful nonsensical thinking that only betrays a complete lack of understanding of what is going on in South-East Asia today."

"Most thinking Europeans in these countries realise this. To them it is only a question of 'how soon'."

## Does U.S. really want settlement?

IF this is true it may be that America doesn't want a settlement in Korea, but would prefer a long occupation in which to "re-educate" the people. It is then likely that General MacArthur, who sees his role in the world as something more than that of a mere militarist and who appears to entertain messianic pretensions of the sort that warped Hitler's mind, feels that the "mission" he has been following in Japan might also be applied to Korea—and elsewhere perhaps!

It is feasible that the Americans have decided that only military occupation can stop Communism; that the "idea" of Communism has taken root so deeply in the East that the people there cannot be trusted to run their own affairs; that, in fact, a democratic decision by the peoples in these countries concerned would be a decision in favour of the Communists.

If so, the task the Americans have set themselves is of maniacal proportions and the sooner Britain can dissociate itself from it the better.

As for Mr. Nehru he will have an exacting task trying to find the "formula" to satisfy all parties—but may he never try!

India decided to support the United Nations action in Korea, but through Prime Minister's initiative it has lifted itself above the more sordid aspects of that conflict. If "opposition to aggression" is not accompanied by more practical, durable proposals I do not foresee India persisting with its Western entanglements. India is an Asiatic country, lately under white oppression. How can it support a "democratic" campaign that fails to renounce imperialism?

## An assertion of faith

I HAVE written in this Commentary largely in terms of world politics that no writer in this paper would accept as final arguments, and I cannot finish without a tribute to the Rev. Donald Soper whose courageous public statement that he would rather see the world over-run by Communism than immersed in a Third World war was one of the few heartening events of that week. This, in a world thinking only in the most superficial materialistic terms, was not a statement of defeatism, but an assertion of faith, a belief that in the final instance man should be prepared to seek his salvation by beginning again at the most elemental level of human considerations. Only thus perhaps may we eventually be able to arrest the chain-reaction of evil that is engulfing us.

## THE STARTING POINT FOR PEACE

By RHYS DAVIES, M.P.

from a lecture on "Peace and War" given to a recent trade union weekend school.

IT is a very difficult, thankless and unpopular task to preach peace in any country. The idea of "my country right or wrong" has sunk so deep in the human mind, supported by governments, the Press and the radio, that it is a gigantic task to get to know the truth—though no war would last a day if all the truth were told.

The first thing to do, therefore, to prevent or stop war, is to try to know and understand the other man's point of view; to refuse to believe that your own country is always in the right, and to condemn both sides in the quarrel when they are in the wrong.

That is the starting point in the search for peace, and it applies as much to the war that is going on today as to any other.

\*

Secondly, we must condemn imperialism whatever its character; whether it be capitalist, Republican, Conservative, Liberal, Socialist or Communist. Imperialism springs from several conceptions, but the main motive is the material exploitation of the weak by the strong, and the harnessing of other countries by the great powers for strategic military purposes.

A change in the political or economic structure of government is not of itself a guarantee of peace among nations.

Half a century ago, monarchies were blamed for wars. But strange as it may seem, the spirit of world conflict appeared to increase as kings and princes were de-throned.

Later on, it was argued that if nations became Socialist, then peace would be enthroned for ever. Now, however, we find that even Communist governments quarrel and threaten as furiously as their capitalist predecessors.

When the Labour Movement emerged in this country we believed that if the manufacture of armaments were brought under public control, nations would not easily indulge in war. But that, too, has proved fallacious.

And now we have reached a worse stage than ever in human affairs, when the world is drifting into two distinct and separate blocs, each determined that its own way of life is best suited for the whole of mankind.

I am certain that there is no "one and only" political and economic conception of government that would ever work. Religion, language, geography and climate would prevent it. There are over sixty sovereign countries in the world; no two of them have ever been governed alike and probably never will be.

Indeed, there is sometimes more in common between a monarchy and a republic than there is between two monarchies and two republics; and on occasions two nations embracing the same religion have fought each other to the death.

After travelling much and living longer than most people, I have, in spite of the roar of guns and the dropping of bombs, arrived at a few very definite conclusions.

I have discovered that the fundamental divisions of the human race are not national or racial; mankind is substantially divided into three simple categories: good, bad and indifferent.

Permanent peace can be established, therefore, only by appealing with increasing insistence, to the good in the human heart, denouncing the bad and awakening the indifferent. There exists in every country alike a virile minority preaching this gospel and willing to sacrifice much in the process. That minority must now increase its efforts.

I believe that man is at his best when he folds his arms and declines the invitation to unfold them for battle against his fellows,

who one day are deemed to be allies and friends, but who, later on, when it suits governments, are virile and satanic in all they do.

It may be a lot to hope, but I do hope that the Korean conflict will be localised and that the foul spirit of "Unconditional Surrender" of the last war, which caused so much misery in Europe, will not be repeated.

But in any event, remember this: War, as an instrument of policy, does not change its character simply because it is waged by an international organisation instead of by a few nations, as of yore.

**APOLOGY AND APPEAL**  
1 MUST apologise for the printer's errors which crept into the quotation at the head of the appeal a fortnight ago. Though they spoiled the rhythm, I hope they did not destroy the appeal of the words.

I would renew the appeal made by some friends of Richard Lee to all who remember him and the others, of whose wisdom and strength death has robbed us recently. A special contribution to the work to which they were so devoted helps to ensure that it will continue as their best material.

The crisis in Korea has brought many enquiries and renewed interest in the PPU. We, on the other hand, are doing our best in the face of a fresh outbreak of violence to urge the settlement of the dispute by mediation and the steps which seem necessary to secure this.

If you are glad that the PPU is here to help those who need it and to stand for the pacifist values at a time of crisis, will you also help to ensure that we can carry on effectively?

STUART MORRIS

Total to date ... ...  
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Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer, Mr. Dick Sheppard, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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# TAX RESISTERS

## US Peacemakers get wide publicity

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"County Woman Styries Toledo Tax Collector" was how the Urbana Daily Citizen headed a front-page story of Mildred Harvey, of Urbana, Ohio, who told her tax collector, "I cannot pray for peace and hand out hell bombs. I want to pray with my loyalties all in one direction." The Boston Herald photographed a picket line of 30 tax resisters.

Dr. Alex Dodd, who lost his position with the Toledo Council of Churches last year through his tax refusal, was given prominent space in Toledo papers, who referred to his loss of position and present work of private counselling.

Arthur Emery, who with others received state-wide newspaper publicity and nationwide radio mention, lost his post as supervisor of the Dairy Herd Improvement Association.

The Des Moines Register reported "Tousled-headed, red-headed Emery" as saying that "the U.S. should lay down its arms even if the Russians don't."

Most of the news coverage was naturally given to James Otsuka, of Richmond, Indiana, who (as reported in Peace News) last March passed into the restricted area of the Oak Ridge atomic bomb plant along with the employees and handed out leaflets urging discontinuance of the work.

### Pacifist controversy

The bulletin also contains a brief review of the controversy between the Peacemakers and the other American pacifist bodies—FoR, WRL, Friends Service Committee, etc.—who have not adopted the tax resisting method.

It concludes with a quotation from The Journal of John Woolman, 1758, in which the famous Quaker relates a conversation he had with a judge on the subject of resisting taxes to support wars.

The bulletin can be obtained from Ernest Bromley, General Delivery, Wilmington, Ohio.

### UNA Commy-inspired!

LAST week Peace News reported that the United Nations Association, in common with the pacifist movement, finds difficulty in securing publicity in the National Press.

This week there comes from Ealing a report indicating that the UNA may be sharing another thing in common with the Peace Pledge Union—the charge of being under Communist influence.

Miss Gearing, Secretary of Ealing UNA, has revealed that—

A local tradesman took down a poster advertising a meeting organised by the Association to discuss methods of breaking the atomic deadlock after being told by a customer that the meeting was Communist inspired.

The Middlesex County Times comments that "there is no accounting for some ignorance and prejudice," but adds the ingenious suggestion that the remark may have been made by a Communist with the intention of confusing the issue.

### ANNIVERSARY

The Daily Express announces its intention to stage "The world's greatest air race" on Sept. 16 to "celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Battle of Britain."

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**  
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to  
**P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS**  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## FACTS AND FIGURES

# VIII. Malaya

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

THE Debate on Colonies in Parliament on July 12 also contained two or three short references to the Malaya war or "police action"—whatever term may be applicable.

The Colonial Secretary introduced it with the following statement (Cf. "Hansard," p.1366):

"The central aim and purpose of our Colonial POLICY . . . is to guide the Colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth, and to that end, to ASSIST them to the utmost of our capacity and resources to establish those economic and social conditions upon which alone self-government can be soundly based."—The Colonial Secretary briefly referred to his recent visit to Malaya and also assured the House (p.1382) "that progress against the Communists in Malaya has not been hampered by lack of funds."

In the debate it was stated (p.1423) "that Malaya last year earned us more U.S. dollars than the total exports of the United Kingdom. The member for Leyton (Mr. R. Sorenson) pointed out that "we give back to the Colonies only a small proportion of their economic resources which we are using for our purpose."

A particular case of financial exploitation was mentioned by Dr. Morgan (Warrington):

"The St. Kitts (West Indies) Sugar Factory Co. has been paying for nearly 20 years an annual dividend on their original capital of 1,000 per cent."

He added: I beg the Colonial Secretary to see whether they cannot do more for this poor Colony where disease is rampant—not only venereal disease, which the foreigners brought in, but malaria and tuberculosis . . . I am in constant touch with the doctors there . . ."

Nothing was said in the debate about social conditions in Malaya which has, since

		NATURAL RUBBER			TIN		
YEAR	MALAYA	Indon.	Thailand	Ceylon	MALAYA	Indon.	Bolivia
1937	42.5	38.2	3.0	6.1	6.54	3.31	2.13
1940	46.3	45.9	3.7	7.6	7.03	3.63	3.21
1944	2.0	4.2	—	8.3	0.79	0.57	3.28
1947	54.7	23.5	4.4	7.5	2.29	1.35	2.82
1949	56.9	36.5	8.0	7.6	4.65	2.45	2.82

Source: UN Bulletin of Statistics (Monthly averages). (The U.S. and USSR also developed production of synthetic rubber. Figures for U.S. are: 1940, 0.3; 1946, 62.7; 1949, 33.3).

The "Financial Times" of July 15 "reliably estimated" Malaya's contribution to the Empire's dollar earnings at U.S. \$125 mn. (£45 mn.) for 1950 from proceeds of rubber exports and at about £40 mn. from tin exports. What "assistance" receives the Colony in return?

According to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," 1948:

"Grants to Malaya under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act included £19,000" (not million) "for scrub typhus research, £3,740 for general medical research in the Malayan Union and £4,000 for the newly established Malayan University."

Social welfare institutions are quite inadequate and the number of prisoners in penal institutions greatly exceeds the number of hospital beds. Details of the "Great Five-Year Development Plan" were pub-

lished in the "Financial Times" on July 17. The High Commissioner declared that "the demands of the people for social services and social justice must somehow be met" (sic). The object of the plan is to raise the standard of living and the plan (covered by taxation) requires £5 (five) million annually: i.e. £1 per head of the population.

The U.S. Congress was slow to approve \$35 mn. "research grant" for the sumptuously called "assistance to undeveloped countries in the world" (President Truman's "Point Four," PN, June 9, 1950). But additional \$1,000 mn. for the Korean war were allocated immediately and another \$10,000 mn. will be approved for armaments.

Malaya offers the same picture in miniature. There is a discrepancy between the facts of "assistance" and the above mentioned statement of the Colonial Secretary.

### Films

## A VALUABLE MEDIUM WASTED

IT must be hard to count up millions of unharvested dollars and then find that the basket is bad. Poor old Hollywood, in anticipating a boom in Flag, Honour and Our Boys war films, has faux pas-ed over the enemies. Japan is the Wicked Enemy of Freedom and Democracy in about ten unreleased U.S. photoplays. And now Japan is Messiah MacArthur's humble disciple and ally in the Korean activity.

Too bad. The Central Information Office must especially regret this loss of useful propaganda for Peace Through Defence of a handful of bureaucrats against the wishes of several hundred million Chinese and Koreans.

Of course, Chiang Kai-Shek is in the right; 327,000 Chinese people are in the wrong. The CIO says so; the U.S. Free Press says so; and Old Glory-loving Hollywood would give a good ten per cent. to be able to say so. But their Future Events department is obviously in no better shape than their expensive but error-ridden research organisation.

Disease, too. We are promised a new spate of luridly ineffective dramas based on cancer, tuberculosis, war injury . . . yea, and even bubonic plague!

Here we have one of the greatest mediums of information and entertainment being ruthlessly sacrificed to the copy-cat security of Hollywood and its British fellows. If one studio makes a western, every other one immediately copies. (Annie Get Your Gun is the first of six big westerns.) If disease is good enough for Snakepit, it's good enough for No Sad Songs for Me, Frightened City, Never Fear, The Men and all the what-nots of the film mogul's fear-crazed mentality.

And the answer . . .

The answer? Simple. Just refuse to pay your few shillings at the box office, sorry, Box Office of any and every cinema playing war or commercially-exploited disease films. Complain to managers and Press. The motion picture is a great, valuable medium. In the right hands it could combat disease, crime and the other evils of society.

We must be sure that the wrong hands don't continue to reach for the dollars grabbed from a complex-ridden public by neurotic photoplays. To paraphrase another valuable effort's slogan: "Hands Off Movies!"

PETER CRAIG RAYMOND

July 28, 1950, PEACE NEWS—3

## BALANCING OPINIONS

### Praise for Chinese Communist rule

#### Reuter Reports (1):

In Los Angeles, Brigadier General Roberts, former Military Aid Mission chief in Korea said, "South Korea was not given heavy military equipment before the Korean war began mainly because the South Koreans wanted very much to attack the North."

#### Reuter Reports (2):

The retiring British Consul-General in Shanghai said in Calcutta that the People's government in China was strong and maintained public order and security in the country well.

The People's government paid great attention, said Sir Robert Urquhart, to developing honesty and integrity in the public services. It is their intention to build a new China.

## CRUSADE FOR PEACE!

### Vicar's appeal to Clergy

AN appeal to the Church to threaten to withhold its blessing from a third world war was the basis of a strongly-worded letter to the East Anglican Times recently by Rev. Cameron F. Newell, vicar of St. Peter's, Ipswich. He writes:

"Would not the clergy be better occupied crusading for peace rather than ridiculing those in all nations who honestly and sincerely desire to prevent another world war?

"The record of the Church in the cause of peace is not a good one. The Korean campaign has now been on some weeks, but no word has come from the leader of the Church asking for a day of prayer or demanding that a conference of all parties concerned be called to negotiate before it is too late.

"It is not Stalin but Mr. Truman who is asking for funds to speed up the production of atomic weapons.

"The time has surely come when the Church should say to governments: 'If you embark on a third world war, you will have to do it without our blessing.' Such a declaration might shake the world more than an atom bomb.

"The Church might lose some of its members, but the world would see that it meant something to be a member of the Church of Christ, if Christians said they would be prepared for any dangers or hardship, but that they were prepared to support a universal killing campaign.

#### If our warmongers have their way

"If Mr. Truman and the warmongers are allowed to have their way there is no doubt the grave will come, and come quickly, for all of us, and especially for thousands of our finest and best, who will again be fobbed off with—'this is a war to end war.'

"The Christian Church, which does not believe in racial distinction, should be able to make a great contribution towards prevention of world war. Perhaps the American Church will now take the initiative.

"Let the clergy proclaim the message of reconciliation; the message of the triumph of good over evil and love over hate. Let them get to their knees: this is a time for prayer, not for the blessing of guns."

## MORAL LEADERSHIP

General MacArthur has appointed Lt-General Walton H. Walker to command the ground forces in Korea.

General Walker, a veteran of two world wars, is described as "a swashbuckling, square-jawed commander."

—The Star, July 13, 1950

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, July 26, 1940

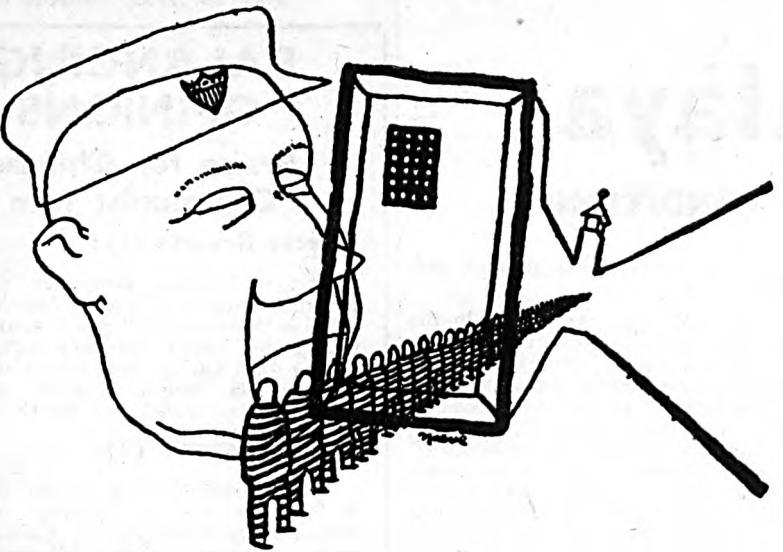
From the News Chronicle of Friday last:

"The German public has been forbidden to listen to Nazi broadcasts from transmitting stations in German-occupied territories and controlled by the Nazi authorities, says the Dutch Anepe News Agency. Severe penalties are threatened for the violation of this new order."

From the News Chronicle of Thursday last:

"For telling people the wavelength of the so-called New British Broadcasting Station, which operates from Germany, William Bruce Tomkins (27), accountant of Dursley Avenue, Kingston-upon-Thames was at the Old Bailey yesterday sentenced to six months' imprisonment."

# THE DANBRY



**T**HE Warden adjusted his glasses. "Men," he said, "This is my last appeal to you. Your group is conspiring to buck the authority of the Bureau of Prisons. If you persist in your foolhardy conspiracy not only your lives, but the lives of the 600 other men in this institution will be adversely affected. So will the lives of the thousands that will follow them. If you won't think of yourselves, think of them. Do you want them to be punished for your actions?"

The Warden paused. His future in the prison system was bound up in his ability to meet such situations as this, and he was doing his best to reason with us. He was a man of about 50, with a clean cut, intelligent face.

His position was both delicate and difficult. If word of our impending strike reached the public there would, undoubtedly, be a terrific reaction to it, and he was certain to be made the scapegoat. On the other hand if word failed to reach the public he would probably be accused of suppressing the news, and meanwhile his authority within the prison seemed sure to be undermined.

The Warden was a man with a comparatively advanced outlook. There were adequate recreational facilities in his prison, smoking was permitted in the mess hall, movies were shown once a week, inmates were allowed to put on shows, the yard period was long, the institution's soft ball team was given ample time to practice, and the prison generally was run along what are considered liberal lines.

The Warden was a good natured man with a sense of humour and a keen feeling of sympathy for the underdog. Ironically, he requested the prison bureau to send us to his prison; and, to be perfectly honest, the worst we suffered under his administration was solitary confinement, whereas wardens at other prisons allowed guards to beat and torture inmates of our type.

The Warden was a sports enthusiast of the first order. No broadcast of a fight or an important game passed without the inmates hearing it. He had been known to rouse the whole prison after lights out to show a new fight film, even going so far as to let the men in solitary out to see it. And no inmate was happier than he over the fact that the prison soft ball team was undefeated in a really excellent league, and was scheduled to play the other undefeated team, a group of college men, in a few weeks, for the championship of that area.

The prison team's high standing was due to the good pitching of a convict in our group of strikers, and it was this, coupled with the Warden's love of sports, that was partially responsible for the extraordinary event which occurred in the prison later.

The Warden was a liberal with a position of authority in an evil system. On the whole he attempted to use his authority to alleviate the evil. The attempt was foredoomed and futile. Despite everything he had done, his prison was still a hell on earth.

Negroes were segregated, teen aged convicts were thrown into solitary, foul food was served frequently, the lunacy ward was used to coerce the sane, reading matter was censored unmercifully, stool pigeons plied their rotten trade, men "blew their tops," and the constant surveillance and grinding monotony of confinement took its inevitable toll.

The reforms instituted by the Warden seemed to us to be of a trifling nature when placed alongside the general horror of everyday prison life, though we weren't striking against the prison system at that time. Many of us had clashed with the system and would continue to do so, but on this occasion our strike was of a more fundamental nature.

Inescapably the Warden was forced to oppose us, and uphold his authority; and, with it, the authority of the evil system that gave him power. For a kind man, which

he seemed to me to be, it was a tragic situation.

A good impulse prompted him to ask the Prison Bureau to send us to his prison. His fate was to discover us unmanageable. We were a proud, stiff-necked lot who openly boasted we were the most radical men in the country. We lined up that way, radical versus liberal, and began our struggle.

The Warden continued to speak:

"If you carry through with this strike, not only will your lives be affected but liberalism itself may be wiped out in the Prison Bureau. All of you know how hard some of us in the Bureau here struggled to better the lot of the inmate. We've made progress lately, and we expect to make more, but the forces against us are powerful, and the balance delicate. A strike at this time may upset the balance and throw the Prison Bureau backwards to the conditions of 20 years ago. None of you men want that."

"But we aren't striking against the prison bureau," someone said.

"It doesn't make any difference why you're striking. The question is can any group in a Federal prison call a strike at any time. The issue here is whether your group of 20 or 30 men has the authority in this prison or whether the people of the United States through the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Warden have it."

The Warden was good humoured and even friendly despite the forcefulness of his words.

"I want to be fair to you men," he said. "In many ways the circumstances behind this strike are unusual, and therefore I'm willing to make concessions. For example I might allow your group to cease work on the designated day and turn the chapel over to you, provided you give your word not to ask the rest of the inmate body to join you. You'll have to make it clear, however, that you're not protesting against the Prison Bureau and that the nature of the services are religious, rather than a strike."

The fairness of this proposal struck me at once and I was genuinely sorry we couldn't agree with the Warden on it. Unfortunately, any arrangement other than a strike would have destroyed the meaning and effect of our protest.

"Any inmate who wants to join us has been invited to do so," a convict said.

The Warden shook his head.

"Impossible. Supposing everybody joins you. Who will man the hospitals and take care of the sick? Who will take care of the kitchen and other chores?"

"We'll leave skeleton crews on duty," another convict said.

"None of the other inmates are going to join us, anyway," someone else said.

Others chipped in with similar comments.

The Warden raised his hand for silence.

"I've made my offer," he said, "It's up to you to decide whether you'll take it or not. If not, you'll have to take the consequences."

We decided to take the consequences.

## TEAR GAS PSYCHOLOGY

The other inmates, though they failed to join the strike, kept us informed and—misinformed via the "grapevine" of the Prison Bureau's moves the following day.

The Bureau, thoroughly aroused, acted swiftly.

Apparently fearing a general strike of riot proportions, carloads of Department of Justice men, armed with machine guns and tear gas, were unloaded at the prison gates, according to the grapevine. Other Department of Justice men, it seemed, were released in the prison disguised as inmates. Guards, on their own hook, and probably without official knowledge, went their round letting the inmates know they'd be safe in starting fights with any in our group of conscientious objectors, if they wanted to do so. Our case as pacifists would be less clear in the public eye if we fought back,

In April, 1941, students in the USA staged a "peace strike" to demonstrate their opposition to American participation in the war. Peacetime conscription had already been introduced and a number of conscientious objectors were imprisoned, among them ministers of religion and theology students who could have claimed exemption had they not wished to witness to the war.

thereby making it possible for the Bureau to get tougher with us.

Early in the afternoon stool pigeons began circulating among the men in an effort to bring inmate pressure to bear on us. The prison would be punished as a whole, if the strike took place, they explained. Smoking, letter writing, and visiting privileges would be withdrawn from all. Other punitive measures would be taken.

The six or seven hundred bootleggers, counterfeitors, embezzlers, smugglers, pimps, white slavers, con men, dope peddlers, robbers, murders, and what have you, comprising the so-called criminal population of the prison stood to lose considerably by our strike; yet not one of them put the slightest pressure on us to change our stand.

During the few months we had been in prison the inmates had grown to love and respect us—as we had them. They were a patient, forbearing body, daily putting up with the most degrading and despicable treatment by the prison bureau. We cast our lot in with theirs from the beginning, and all of our group of ministers, students, and socialists had been in solitary or restrictions at one time or another for protesting against the evil conditions under which they lived.

Furthermore, in our group of absolutists, were many spiritually developed men of almost saintly stature. Even the judges who sentenced them recognised it. One judge, after hearing the Union Theological Seminary students in our group, wept and apologised as he passed sentence on them. Another judge, sentencing Arle Brooks, after reviewing his life of service to others in a probationary report, remarked that he felt like Pontius Pilate.

These men and the others seemed to me, a socialist, to be the first truly religious men I had ever met, and I have known rabbis, ministers, priests and church goers all my life. Under their influence many an inmate, who had never known kindness or even decent treatment before, discovered his own spiritual potential.

The guards and prison officials were also aware of the unusual situation in the prison, and more than one commented on it. There was less swearing, fighting and sex talk; more studying, discussion and quiet re-appraisal. A general restoration of self respect seemed to be taking place among the men.

Our strike was on in which they had no apparent stake; yet they were zealous of our welfare as if they had been blood relatives.

By late afternoon the prison was in a state of nervous apprehension. When the supper whistle blew that evening the men poured out of their cell blocks and surged across the prison yard toward the mess hall, carrying us along with them. Midway, they came to a sudden halt.

The Warden was standing on a small box in the centre of the yard. Guards quickly rounded the men up and herded them into a bunched mass in front of him. Other convicts continued to pour out into the mob. I moved toward the rear and two guards detached themselves and moved in behind me. Other guards stationed themselves wherever there were conscientious objectors. The men stirred restlessly, anxious to get to their supper. Night was falling and a high wind was whipping through the yard.

The Warden began to speak.

As everyone knew, he said, a general strike was being called the next morning by a small group of inmates. The nature of the strike as he saw it did not concern the rest of the inmates and he expressed the belief that they wouldn't join us. We were not striking against the Prison Bureau or the administration of the prison, he pointed out, but against the Government of the U.S.

The patriotism of the group calling the strike, though we were not yet at war, was of a questionable nature. We had deliberately disobeyed the law of the land and that was why we were in prison. We had been trouble makers from the beginning and now we were wilfully calling a strike against the best interests of the nation.

Everybody was against war, including himself, and he had gone along with us as long as he could, offering to allow us the use of the chapel for prayer and meditation on the designated day, but we had rejected the offer, preferring to flout the authority of the prison bureau and the government.

The selfishness of our course was apparent. A strike in the Prison Bureau at this time might prove disastrous. The prison was more liberal than at any time in its history. He dwelt on the gains that had been made recently and emphasised the benefits accruing to the inmates. Our waiting strike would be a blow to those gains giving men in and out the opportunity to criticise, and half them, possibly desert them altogether. The inmates would be the wisdom of steering clear of our strike and the selfishness of it. He expressed confidence in the men, and knew he could count on them for support. He paused for applause.

Silence met him. Hastily, he continued his speech, emphasising again the gains that had been made in the bureau, the threat to them, the selfishness of our group of men. We had little consideration for the inmates we were going to deprive them of their food, if we had our way, by calling the kitchen out on strike. We were going to deprive the hospital of help, leaving the sick and dying to shift for themselves. The Warden was interrupted by a clear, but respectful voice.

"That's not quite true, Warden." The speaker was Arle Brooks, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, known among the men for his meek character and spiritual humility.

The Warden focussed his attention on Arle.

"Seize that man," he said, pointing him.

Guards quickly seized Arle, locking arms together around him.

The inmates knowing Arle's character broke into spontaneous laughter at the necessary precaution. The laughter instantly when the Warden ordered Arle to be taken away and thrown into solitary confinement.

A wave of angry muttering swept through the crowd.

The Warden demanded silence and waited. The speaker was Arle Brooks, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, known among the men for his meek character and spiritual humility.

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## PRISON IQ

"PRISON ETIQUETTE," from an anthology of the prison writings of American conscientious objectors during World War II and has been reproduced in a limited edition of 2,000 copies, hand-set, hand-bound and printed on a pedal press by the editors.

As its sub-title proclaims, it is "Convict's Compendium of Useful Information," and the editors publish the contributions "salvaged from their years of captivity ideas of immeasurable value to all who contemplate in the coming years the continual warfare with totalitarian days—both in and out of its prisons."

...No doubt is left in the reader's mind that the editors are campaigning for the whole prison system with its complete failure to discourage "crime."

"Is there ever any more arson, than the bombing of a city; is there any more assault and murder, than in the course of a war," ask the editors in their introduction.

"Is there ever any more crime, than in the bombing of a city; is there any more assault and murder, than in the course of a war," ask the editors in their introduction.

"Is there ever any more crime, than in the bombing of a city; is there any more assault and murder, than in the course of a war," ask the editors in their introduction.

"Is there ever any more crime, than in the bombing of a city; is there any more assault and murder, than in the course of a war," ask the editors in their introduction.



# What shall we do?

THIS question echoes across the world, from Vancouver to Vladivostock; the world, that is, of ordinary people whose one concern is to live.

The answer is that ordinary people must take individual responsibility for their living; which in turn involves war resistance. This is the conclusion of the War Resisters' League of America, after a 14,000-mile survey of 21 states.

It is emphasised that resistance does not mean isolation from society. The real job for pacifism, says this report, is to change the public attitude; to show that the moral answer is also the political answer. "The question is not one of sinking the American navy overnight while everything else remains as it is, but a question of developing the attitudes which make the sinking possible."

## The Warfare State

DISARMAMENT is a possibility—if public opinion demands it.

So says the first of a series of Disarmament pamphlets issued by the U.S. National Council against Conscription. Not welfare, but warfare causes high taxation, it argues, pointing out that more than two-thirds of the entire Federal budget is paying for wars—past, present and future.

## Are you a Nudist?

A POTENT factor in public opinion is being mobilised by the Congress of American Women, which urges all women to protest against the H-bomb and call for an immediate conference between the USA and the USSR to outlaw the A-bomb and destroy existing stockpiles.

Members are reminded that it was the bogey of "anti-Communism" that hypnotised and brought disaster to the German people; and that to be similarly hypnotised showed our "moral nakedness" today.

## Do it Now

AN appeal for individual responsibility also comes from the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (104 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1).

The making of peace, it says, may depend on what we are doing now. Local groups of the WIL are urged to take more part in affairs and plan their own activities. Next winter a special study is to be made of "Race Relations," for which preparation should be made now.

## Yesterday, too

THE June issue of "Woman Today" carries messages of peace from distinguished public women.

Actress Wendy Hiller hits the nail on the head when she says apposite of atomic prohibition: "But why not include all those other bombs which the people of London and Coventry and Berlin and Hamburg found quite terrible enough? Isn't the excitement over atomic bombs simply side-tracking us into avoiding the real issue, which is how to remove all the causes of war? Have we yet faced up to those causes? And are we really brave enough to 'declare the first government to use atomic weapons a war criminal'?" Or don't we count Nagasaki and Hiroshima?"

## Jose Brocca

THE War Resisters' International has received with great regret news of the death in Mexico on June 10 of its Spanish founder-member, Professor Jose Brocca.

During the Civil War Jose Brocca organised relief for refugees in Republican Spain, and later at the WRI Home at Prats-de-Mollo. After internment in France during the German occupation, he eventually settled in Mexico, where Sra. Brocca is now living in conditions of great hardship.

It is suggested that friends might

like to commemorate the work of Jose Brocca and his wife by sending contributions for a Rosa Brocca Fund to: The Treasurer, WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

## International Service

VOLUNTEERS are still needed for work-camps now functioning in most West European countries, also for projects in Algeria and India and Pakistan.

Co-ordinating body is the Association of International Work Camps for Peace, of which the London office is: International Voluntary Service for Peace, 3 Cromwell Road, S.W.7. Technical skill is not usually so important as physical fitness and capacity for communal living; long or short-term workers are accepted, the minimum age in many overseas camps being 25.

The Summer 1950 Report of the FAU International Service describes work at home and abroad, including an orphan children's settlement near Cologne, on the lines of the Swiss "Pestalozzi Village" and resettlement of refugees in Schleswig Holstein. Among FAU Council members appears the name of the present Minister of Food—no doubt Mr. Webb will know what to do with any future surpluses!

## Reducing Chaos

FOLLOWING "very friendly discussions" in Delhi last month, complete agreement is reported between India and Pakistan on the question of movable property of evacuees in both countries. Talks are continuing on other aspects of the rehabilitation of refugees.

"India News" also reports the arrival in Madras of the pacifist President of the Philippines Town Hall Association. He is to study how far Gandhian methods can be applied to problems in the Philippines—where conditions were described recently by a Manchester Guardian correspondent as "chaotic."

## Let Them Know

THE best contribution to the prevention of a new war is the encouragement of the Russian people to resist the aggressive designs of the ruling Communist clique.

So writes a former Deputy of the Russian Constituent Assembly in a letter to the Daily Graphic, urging Government endorsement of Mr. Eden's recent statement that there is "no hostility in this country to the Russian people."

But sentiment, to be convincing, must be backed up by better evidence of goodwill than atomic bombs.

## Others Copy

A SELKIRK reader suggests a method for publicising pacifism in the local press.

When writing to the editor on pacifist topics he invites interested readers to get in touch with him, thus establishing new personal contacts; and when a letter is printed, it is followed up by the insertion of an advertisement on behalf of PN.

## Finest Hours

### (1) Peace;

A sparrow, trapped in a London office, was rescued by a 50-year-old lift attendant who has only one hand. "He climbed on to a foot-wide ledge and walked along it until he came to the window of the room, risking an 80-foot drop." He said the risk was worth it. (Evening Standard, June 23).

### (2) War;

"The most pitiful sight I have seen was an aged Korean with flowing white beard making his way through a convoy of American trucks as they moved up to the front. He moved haltingly and by touch—for he was blind. But nobody helped him. Everybody here has to get on with the war . . ." (Evening Standard, July 10).

MARGARET TIMS

# Letters to the Editor

## Korea—the facts

I WAS interested in your two leading articles on Korea in last week's issue. Difficult though it may be we should all attempt to get at the facts, as Stuart Morris says, and judge them as objectively and unemotionally as possible.

I sometimes wonder is this being done, even in such an objective paper as Peace News. In your front page article of July 7, for example, you quote in heavy type the following extract from a letter written to the Manchester Guardian by Mr. Zilliacus.

Syngman Rhee, South Korean Premier, has twice publicly demanded more arms in order to be able to attack the North.

It is also stated that "The Russians had on previous occasions restrained the North Koreans."

Are these facts? If so you would be doing a service by quoting their source and authority.

HUGH S. BROWN

53 Warren Drive, Wallasey, Cheshire.

## Zilliacus replies

THERE seems to be surprising ignorance in this country about the fact that the South Korean Premier, Defence Minister and other members of his Government have repeatedly gone on record demanding war against North Korea. The U.S. press has been more informative: On November 1, 1949, the *New York Herald Tribune* and many other U.S. papers published a United Press despatch from Tokyo, dated October 31, from which the following are extracts:

"Sohn Sung Mo, South Korean Defence Minister, said today that his army is ready and waiting to invade Communist North Korea, but has been restrained by American officials."

"At the same time President Syngman Rhee said in Korea that his government will not much longer tolerate a divided Korea 'and if we have to settle this thing by war, we will do all the fighting needed.' He spoke to officers and men of the visiting United States 7th Task Fleet aboard the flagship St. Paul. He described Korea as a 'living body cut in half.'

"Referring to the readiness of his troops to drive into North Korea, Mr. Sohn expressed confidence that they could wrest control from the Communists.

"If we had our own way we would, I'm sure, have started up already," he told a press conference. "But we had to wait until they (American government leaders) are ready. They keep telling us, 'No, no, no, wait. You are not ready.'

"Mr. Sohn listed the South Korean Army strength at 100,000 front-line troops, compared with a Northern Army of 250,000.

"We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang (the Northern capital) within a few days," he said.

In an interview with the *New York Times* of October 8, 1949, Syngman Rhee, the South Korean Premier, said: "I am convinced that we could capture Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, in three days." Similar sentiments by the same gentleman were reported by the *New York Times* of March 2, 1950, under the headlines "Rhee promises aid to the North Koreans; hints use of force against Foreign Puppets!"

On July 15, 1950, that is a few days ago, the Paris edition of the *New York Times* published a press talk at Los Angeles on July 14, by Brigadier General William L. Roberts, who had been head of the U.S. Military Mission in South Korea before the conflict started: "The South Korean Government did not get heavy military equipment before the war broke out chiefly because it had a strong desire to attack North Korea. This placed us into a skittish position," said Brigadier General Roberts. "To prevent the South Koreans from attacking we gave them no combat air force, no tanks and no heavy artillery."

The North Koreans were equally anxious to put an end to what Syngman Rhee had described as "cutting the living body of Korea in half." Last October the North Korean Government virtually threatened to invade South Korea if the latter failed to agree to their unification proposals, which called for a pooling of the two parliaments, setting up of a joint government and elections throughout Korea. Nothing but the restraining influence of the U.S.S.R. can explain why they did not put their threat into operation at that time.

This time the Soviet Government must have got wind of the fact that the U.S. Defence Department had advised against trying to hold South Korea, on the ground that it was militarily indefensible and strategically unimportant in case of a general war. The moderates in the USA were gradually getting the upperhand for a policy of cutting their commitments in the Far East and abandoning Indochina, Korea and Formosa to their fate.

The Soviet Government with their usual crass ignorance of the workings of the Western democracies, must have assumed that this time the North Koreans could walk in, clean up the Syngman Rhee regime and unite Korea without provoking more than protests in the USA. Instead the result was to defeat the moderates overnight and put the wild men into the saddle who still think they can prop up Asiatic despotism and feudalism by force of arms and call it the defence of democracy against

Communism in China, Korea and Indochina as well as holding down Japan.

At that it is quite possible that there was deliberate provocation by the South Koreans. It is known for instance that the Americans are refusing their *protection* to Chiang Kai Shek's offer to send 30,000 troops to Korea, because they know that he wants to join in the war in the hope of retrieving his fallen fortunes. It is not unlikely that some South Korean fire-eaters kindled this conflagration in the hope of bringing back the Americans and averting their fate, even at the risk of a world war.

The curse of the policy of pushing puppets governments around like pawns is that it may back-fire: The objects may become subjects; the pawns may take action in their own initiative that commits them.

This danger was clearly foreseen by shrewd American observer, Mr. Walter Lippman, in his book on the cold war, which drastically criticises the U.S. policy "recruiting, subsidising and supporting the heterogeneous array of satellites, clients, dependents and puppets . . . around the perimeter of the Soviet Union . . . A diplomatic war conducted as this policy demands . . . means that we must stake our security and the peace of the world upon satellites, puppets, clients, agents about whom we can know very little. Frequently they will act for their own reasons and on their own judgments, presenting us with accomplished facts that we did not intend and with crises for which we are unready . . . We shall have either to disown our puppets, which would be tantamount to appeasement and defeat and the loss of face, or we must support them at an uncalculable cost, on an unintended, pleasing and perhaps undesirable issue."

Those observations fit the present situation like a glove. It looks as though the very situation Mr. Lippman foresaw and feared has now come to pass. But we cannot know. For North Korea was never given an opportunity to put her case to the Security Council, and the United Nations Commission in South Korea reported the outbreak of hostilities, not from first hand observations but on the strength of what they were told by Syngman Rhee and other members of the South Korean Government.

It is a scandal and a tragedy that the Security Council has been prostituted to serve American armed intervention in Korea on the phony plea of self defence and so has taken sides in a Korean civil war complicated by a clash between America and Soviet power politics. The decision was taken without the vote of the Soviet Government and with the vote of a delegate whom neither this country nor the U.S.S.R. recognises as entitled to vote.

China. The decision was therefore illegal and contrary to the fundamental principles on which the Charter is based, namely the need for unanimity between the Great Powers when it comes to taking action to keep the peace, as the alternative would be the risk of a world war and a world war would mean the United Nations failing in its purpose.

K. ZILLIACUS

60 Abbey Road, N.W.8

## UNO and World Peace

THE peace appeal by Mr. Tayab Shaikh in your issue of June 23 was written in good faith and before the war began in Korea. No one doubts the good intentions of Mr. Trygvie Lie. But the work of the UNO as of the old League of Nations has not inspired confidence among pacifists. The UNO decisions had little influence on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The wars in Indonesia, Viet Nam, and Malaya showed the UNO a hopeless failure. In the case of the Berlin Blockade UNO again proved itself a fine body of debaters.

Meanwhile the fate of humanity seems to rest in the hands of power politicians and military officers. Mr. Lie failed to find either Germany or Japan a seat in the Lake Success sessions. Mr. G. I. Bennett (PN, June 23), had similar doubts as to the ability of UNO in its present form to maintain peace.

In a war-tired and weary world pacifists must continue to raise their voices—a task to which the Churches and a real UNO should give the lead.

RICHARD HOFFMAN

173 Willibald Alexis str. 20, Berlin, SW 29.

## Wording of Petition

I CANNOT quite understand why the PEACE PETITION should not be signed by everyone, but the words of the Petition to His Majesty's Government should be altered to read as a call for banning ALL WEAPONS OF WAR—NAVAL, AIR, and MILITARY.

My friends and I have accordingly amended the Petition form and posted same to the organisers.

A. M. HOPKINS

## Reconciliation effort

1 BELIEVE that all pacifists should urge the Government to give the fullest support to Pandit Nehru in his efforts at reconciliation between America and Russia. A positive action of this kind seems to be more effective than petitions for banning certain kinds of weapons.

DENIS BRIAN

24a Breakspears Road, Brockley, S.E.4.

Other letters held over until next week.

# "SECURITY" — THE WORLD'S MENACE

"The British should say they won't go on being tied to the American war chariot"

— NEVIN SAYRE

**SUPPORT** anything that appears to be a workable compromise," was the advice given to a pacifist gathering in London last Friday by the well-known American pacifist leader, Nevin Sayre.

He was speaking at a meeting held at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Head Office, Gordon Square, to welcome him and Muriel Lester—he on his way to the annual conference of the International FoR in Holland, and Muriel Lester on her return from a tour of South Africa.

He believed world war was still not inevitable. As General MacArthur said last October—the overwhelming mass of public opinion was still against it.

If that were true there was still time to save the world's peace, and as far as pacifists' efforts in the political sphere were concerned he thought they should give all possible support to the mediatory efforts of Nehru and Trygve Lie, or any form of face-saving compromise.

If China were admitted to the Security Council, and Russia advised the North Koreans to withdraw, both powers might save their faces and open the way for UN to function as a real parliament of nations.

## America's share of guilt

He wanted to take that opportunity to point out what he thought was America's share of guilt in what had happened in Korea, and would go on happening if the "Truman doctrine" continued.

Before the end of the war Roosevelt was trying to win over Russia at Potsdam for the sake of Allied unity. By a kind of Munich appeasement he allowed Russia to take more and more.

Truman had said, however, that USA was now going to change that policy; so some smart young man in the State Department worked out the "doctrine of containment."

This was tried out in Greece with a certain success; but on the other hand it had encouraged Russia to tremendous successes in China and elsewhere.

"They forgot," he said, "that if one government gets top the other government might try to do the same."

## Security" the real danger

The fundamental danger of the Truman doctrine, Nevin Sayre continued, lay in the conception of security—namely, that Europe could be given to Japan, or to any European nations, by what the Secretary of State called "creating situations of strength," which simply meant the armaments race.

The idea seemed to be that if they could

# PEACE PETITION

## British Peace Committee week-end conference

**BOTH** large and smaller Holborn Halls were filled to overflowing by the 860 delegates, observers and visitors to the Conference of the British Peace Committee last weekend, July 22-23; in connection with which were also organised a Religious service with the church full at St. George's, Queen's Square, conducted by the Vicar and the Dean of Canterbury; a Social Gathering; and a concluding Rally in Trafalgar Square.

The main purpose of the Conference was to report progress since the launching of the Petition. The number of signatures claimed, down to the latest bulletin at 9 a.m. on the Saturday, brought the total to 790,277.

A minimum target of 5 million signatures by October has been set; but it was thought that even already the petition might have had a restraining effect on Governmental policy.

Two resolutions were put to the Conference—a Korea Emergency Resolution, and an Appeal to the People of Britain, the latter amplifying the purpose and content of the petition. Little exception could be taken to the phrasing of either. Together with the speeches of the principal speakers, they might well be the subject of study and analysis by the Pacifist Movement.

Distinguished guests from abroad included Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet author, who in sonorous Russian periods did not spare the vitriol, for which his pen is world-famous, when referring to capitalist governments; but who found words of warm friendship for the people of Britain. Other guests were the Abbé Boulier, a leader of the French Resistance; Gilbert de Chambrun, Member of the Chambre and of its Foreign Affairs Committee; and Mrs. Jessie Street, former Australian MP, and sister of the Lord Chief Justice.

The older Peace Movement in this country has not found its possible to co-operate to any extent with the new "British Peace Committee"; but had this Conference been called by pacifists, we should have been proud of its enthusiasm and efficiency.

Most of the speeches would have passed on the "other" platform. Settlement by negotiation instead of by war was frequently emphasised; so was belief in the possibility of co-existence in a peaceful world of opposing ideologies.

Once or twice, however, the cat peeped out of the bag: as when M. de Chambrun said, "Some of us think that the struggle in Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia and Korea, is a struggle for peace.

The BPC appears to be undaunted by the seeming inconsistency of their peace professions with the launching of aggressive war by their friends in North Korea. On the other hand, Arthur Horner aptly distinguished between fighting for peace and fighting in war with an anecdote of the trenches in 1914:

Murphy hesitated to go with the others over the top. "Your comrades out there are fighting!" shouted his Commanding Officer. Murphy peeped over. "Fighting is it?" he cried—"Why, they're killing each other!"

It may be that only a mass uprising of the peoples against war, irrespective of

July 28, 1950, PEACE NEWS—7

## Up and doing!

## THE READING ROOM

**WE** give one copy to the County Library here. The Librarian says it is well read, and people ask for it if it is a day late."

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Go this week and check up. If it isn't on show ask the Librarian for it. If they do not take it, write requesting it be provided. Get other local ratepayers to support you.

An offer to donate the paper may help. It can be sent direct to your Library from this office at a reduced rate of 10s. a year, post free.

No Reading Room should be without Peace News; but we depend on the personal initiative of local pacifists to make sure that it is there.

Write to us if you need further information.

H.F.M.

race, politics and all -isms, could now save our peace and planet.

We pacifists should make up our minds whether or not we would like to see in our own country an overwhelming response to this Appeal of the BPC. If, as was said at the Conference, we won't have anything to do with Communists, we cut ourselves off from two-fifths of the human race.

## CORDER CATCHPOOL

## EALING'S GESTURE

**THE** Mayor of Ealing, Alderman H. J. Andrews, recently announced details of a scheme to invite thirty German boys and girls from the city of Magdeburg to spend a fortnight in Ealing from August 20. A return visit of Ealing children is to be arranged for next year.

The German arrangements are in the hands of the Hagen Youth Officer, Herr Godde, who is undertaking this work in the hope that a better understanding between nations will result from a closer liaison, especially between young people.

Provisional plans for the young visitors' entertainment include visits to local factories, Kew Gardens, Richmond, places of interest in London, the model village at Beckscot, local youth organisations, London and Northolt Airports and a League football match.

Offers of hospitality are required, and details may be obtained from the Ealing Youth Officer, 24 Castlebar Road, W.5.

## GLASTONBURY

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Arthur Mann, Mount Avalon, Glastonbury.

## Notes for your Diary

Saturday, July 29 - Sat., Aug. 5

**MALVERN** Link, Worcester: The School, Malvern Link; Youth holiday conference; Subject: "Crossing Frontiers"; Speakers will include: Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell (League of Coloured Peoples), Rev. Claude Colman, MA (Weigh House Church) and Reginald Sorenson, MP (Leyton); FoR.

Monday, July 31

**TOWER HILL**: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Thursday, Aug. 3

**LONDON**, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting: Sybil Morrison; PPU.

**HAMPSTEAD**: 8 p.m. 17a Pond St.: Group meeting to discuss future policy.

Secretary: J. W. Wynne-Tyson; Tel. HAM 0174; PPU.

Sunday, August 6

**TRAFLAGAR SQUARE**: 3 p.m. Peace rally; See announcement on page 8.

**FINSBURY PARK**: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting, North London Region, PPU.

**GLASGOW**: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting. PPU.

**LONDON**, W.C.2: 5 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Kingsway: The Rev. L. V. Heslop, BA, on "The New Testament Basis of Pacifism"; Methodist Pacifist Fellowship.

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Monday, August 7

**TOWER HILL**: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Saturday, Aug. 12-Sunday, Aug. 13

**LONDON**, S.W.5: International Weekend Conference on the Colonial Problem: International People's College, 10 South Bolt Gardens, S.W.5.

Saturday, Aug. 19

**HIGH WYCOMBE**: 3 p.m. 6 Terry Road; Garden Party; Speaker: Stuart Morris; South Bucks Area; PPU.

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**PETER CRAIG** Raymond's last advert brought not a single reply. He still urgently needs a room(s) with use of kitchen. Reasonable rent in and around Kensington Victoria sector. This is urgent. Box 187.

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### PERSONAL

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